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The German Tribune

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Ostpolitik has a role to play in detente moves as a whole

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

In comparison with the Soviet Union and the United States this country is, in terms of foreign policy, a proverbial dwarf and can be happy not to be outmanoeuvred by the giants into a position in which it has no leeway whatsoever.

In view of the prevailing power position the politicians in Bonn are continually well advised not to overestimate their own possibilities.

At the same time too much modesty can be a mistake, particularly when it is a matter of assessing the consequences of one's own foreign policy concept and of reviewing it to make sure the required effect is obtained.

An assessment of this kind calls for clarity about one's own role in international affairs. It is as wrong to overrate one's own position as it is to underestimate it.

It seems only natural to review the situation at a juncture at which the

Where would this country be had it not attempted to counteract this trend and play its part in the process of detente? It would have been notorious in both East and West as a handicap and a mischief-maker.

It has meanwhile become apparent that Ostpolitik is not pursued at the expense of relations with the West. It would even be wrong to state that while Bonn has, of course, tried to achieve progress in the West it has overlooked the fact that Ostpolitik has had a fundamental influence on policy towards the West.

We must, once and for all, grow used to the idea of viewing and evaluating Ostpolitik in the context of foreign policy as a whole.

The Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn may have bitten off more than it can chew in laying claim to be a Cabinet of domestic reform.

Its assertion that efforts to bring about a relaxation of tension with Moscow would benefit the process of European integration rather than hinder it was, however, by no means premature.

A particularly enlightening example is the change that has taken place in the role played by France, which is now at the fore among European integrationists.

In common with Britain and America France was not particularly pleased at the prospect of renewed involvement in the Berlin question and the reminder that it has certain obligations towards the divided city.

Now, however, the French are such enthusiastic advocates of detente that they lay claim to responsibility for the thaw in Moscow, thus French Foreign



Kiel Week

President Gustav Heinemann, accompanied by his wife Hilda, visited Kiel Week which opened on 19 June. Because of the keen wind Hilda Heinemann had to anchor her hat on with a scarf. The President was the guest of Gerhard Stoltenberg, (extreme right), Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein.

(Photo: dpa)

Minister Schumann on a recent visit to Bonn.

It is no less a coincidence that French President and staunch Gaullist M. Pompidou has emerged as a champion of European integration. Bonn was astute and tactful enough not only to cede this role to the French head of state but deliberately to play it into his hands.

Yet there is no reason to paper over the fact that the groundwork was laid by Bonn. Not even the Brussels monetary crisis has proved an obstacle in the way of European rapprochement. If anything it has accelerated the process.

Dissatisfaction with the alleged national

egoism of this country played no mean part in the Anglo-French agreement on the Common Market.

Last but not least it must be noted that even Nato, which it was feared might be undermined by a naive policy of detente, has gathered momentum rather than declined as a result of the course of events.

It is worth recalling how difficult it used to be to maintain defence preparedness. The gradual decline has now been brought to a halt and the European group within Nato represents a first step on the road to European cooperation.

President Nixon would have had far less success in dealing with his opponent Senator Mike Mansfield over the amendment on troop cuts in Europe had he not been able to renew Soviet interest in talks on troop cuts and disarmament.

General-Secretary Brezhnev would hardly have been in a position to sound the Tiflis signal had Central Europe still been in a Stone Age state of coldest cold war.

Proof of the beneficial effect of Bonn's foreign policy on the course of international affairs cannot merely be a matter of self-congratulation, though. For the time being detente is only in its early stages.

Even if the Berlin question were to be settled we would only be nearer the tip of the iceberg. A satisfactory Berlin settlement will in practice be at best tolerable – comparison with the treaty-less state of affairs that has so far been the city's lot.

In other words, detente can never be any more than a fine word for a relaxation of tension that will continue to exist even if the level of mutual military threat in Central Europe is reduced a little.

It is not a matter of paving the path of foreign policy with illusions. It must merely be realised more clearly than in the past that regardless of the bones of contention that litter it it remains the right one.

Oskar Fehrenbach

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 18 June 1971)

Brezhnev speaks temperately at SED party congress in East Berlin

Sober judges of world affairs could hardly have expected Leonid Brezhnev to use the eighth congress of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) in East Berlin as the setting for a sensational detente signal.

It is noteworthy enough for him to have calmly announced at a congress called to differentiate between the GDR and this country that the Soviet leadership continues to be interested in reaching understanding with the West.

This relative moderation contrasts starkly with the order of the day, 16 June, passed on to Erich Honecker, the new SED leader, by a general in the National People's Army. The armed forces, he noted, were "deeply filled with hatred of the enemy."

Three points in Leonid Brezhnev's speech are worth noting. His mention of a number of positive changes in Europe includes the part played by this country in bringing about these changes.

Second, he reiterated previous statements to the effect that the Soviet Union intends to restore to normal the situation of West Berlin and the West Berliners.

Third, he confirmed in as many words what Chancellor Brandt has stated on a number of occasions: that agreement between this country and the Soviet Union presupposes concessions by both sides.

This emphasis makes it clear that Mr. Brezhnev expects the new SED leadership to toe the Soviet line. Erich Honecker's mention of West Berlin as a city with a special political status sounds a note different from that of the previous assertion that West Berlin was an independent political unit.

The ostentatious way in which Walter Ulbricht was ignored at the congress is a further indication that the Kremlin is interested in a more malleable leadership in East Berlin.

The wish that East Berlin toe the line may also be one of the factors involved in Herr Honecker's accusation of certain "indications of subjectivism, insistence on being in the right, painting the situation in too glowing colours and disregarding the collective."

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 18 June 1971)

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Communist world gradually comes to terms with the Common Market

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foreign policy scene has been enlivened and illuminated by an entire series of signals.

And to set about unearthing the factors responsible for this development, is to come to the easily-reached conclusion that Bonn's foreign policy has exerted a not inconsiderable influence on the course of events.

This foreign policy, originally misleadingly termed Ostpolitik, or policy towards the Eastern Bloc, has led and can be proved to have led to a far-reaching reorientation of foreign policy in both parts of Europe and beyond.

There can also no longer be any denying that it was based on an accurate assessment of the interests of the great powers.

This is most apparent in the so-called salt talks, an attempt by the great powers to reach agreement over our heads on a limitation of the nuclear arms race.

Britain's EEC entry should not be delayed too long

And public and parliamentary debate in Britain on the pros and cons of Common Market membership has reached such

Mr Barber, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, commented that "A clear majority of political leaders, a majority of the press and a majority of industry are in favour of joining. You can hardly expect the leader of the Conservative Party on

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Differences of opinion on Berlin Question may have been a storm in a teacup

Nevertheless the impression remains that Bonn is scaling down its demands on Berlin step by step, so that in the end it

The West and Bonn can only work on the theory that the danger of conflict

One major problem is the way access regulations limit Soviet control while leaving practical administration to the

It is on this that the process of enlightenment on the domestic policy scene should be orientated.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 June 1971)

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Balkan approach to Peking

The two Balkan countries also
China as a foreign policy counterweight
the Soviet Union. For Belgrade this is
more important still that China be able
to redress the balance in view of
superpower of the United States and
Soviet Union.

Continued from page 2

Zoglmann establishes Deutsche Union, a party for the patriotic centre

It was further learned that the party has at present 2,000 members, most of

But the party was insensitive of forecasts of failure expressed in Bonn by the established FDP. According to Zoglmann a party leadership that could drag the FDP down to the three per cent level it had now reached in the latest public opinion polls was hardly suited to be a prophet.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 14 June 1971)

In principle America is prepared to

Is joint European defence planning a utopian dream?

This pointlessness has led to a general

In view of the difficulties encountered over such a minor aspect of joint defence one may well ask whether the slightest consideration of joint European defence is not verging on the brink of utopia.

Alfred Frisch
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14. Juni 1971)

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equal measure to all the countries of Europe. "If this opportunity is missed," he said, "we will, I feel, be condemned for our lack of creative imagination by our people in this country and by future generations." Alfred H. Hagedorn

(Hannoversche Allgemeine 11. Juni 1971)

Before the part of the proceedings that was open to the public began the line-up and basic programme of Deutsche Union had been agreed on and a leadership had been elected.

In speeches on policy Deutsche Union has set itself up as the party of the

The Pill causes Bonn worries



The Pill has become a political issue. Started by the constant and drastic decline in the birth rate, planners in Bonn are discussing the consequences that increasing use of the Pill will have.

Pessimists claim that economic development and the social security system are in danger. Optimists say that the decline in the birth rate will not continue and that furthermore the growth of population is in no way comparable with economic growth.

The authorities in Bonn have now turned to the subject. A small group of experts at the Ministry of Labour and Social Services - nicknamed the Pill Commission - have examined the possible results of a decline in the birth rate. The Health Ministry is to head a series of interdepartmental discussions on the subject. The government will then be able to answer the question of whether the West Germans are about to destroy their own future.

The only clear facts are supplied by the population statistics. The number of births in 1967 was 31,000 less than in 1966. There was a further drop of fifty thousand in 1968, 66,000 in 1969 and 93,000 in 1970.

There is no indication that the trend will stop. In the immediate future, Berlin's birth rate is expected to drop from 6.2 to 5.2 per cent.

But the population of the Federal Republic has increased rapidly because of the large number of foreign workers and migrants coming to the country.

Nothing illuminates the situation more clearly than the fact that immigration made up fifty per cent of the population increase in 1968, almost eighty per cent in 1969 and probably ninety per cent in 1970.

The decline in the West German birth rate corresponds in striking fashion with

data concerning the increasing use of the Pill.

Stressing that estimates are cautious, Oberregierungsrat Kremp, a senior government official and co-author of the reports issued by the Labour Ministry "Pill Commission", reckons that the sale of oral contraceptives rose from eight million packages in the second half of 1968 to twenty million in 1969 and 28 million in 1970.

At least 19 to 21 per cent of the twelve million women aged between 15 and 45 are estimated to take the Pill. Amongst the eight million married women in this age range the proportion will be around 29 to 31 per cent.

The use of oral contraceptives has increased from year to year, especially among young girls and married women. The taboo previously surrounding contraceptive methods has been removed as the Pill is prescribed like any other drug or medication.

These statistics could give rise to pessimism. First reactions equate less births with less workers and less economic growth.

But the Labour Ministry experts do not accept this and dismiss suggestions that there must be either a growth in population or economic stagnation.

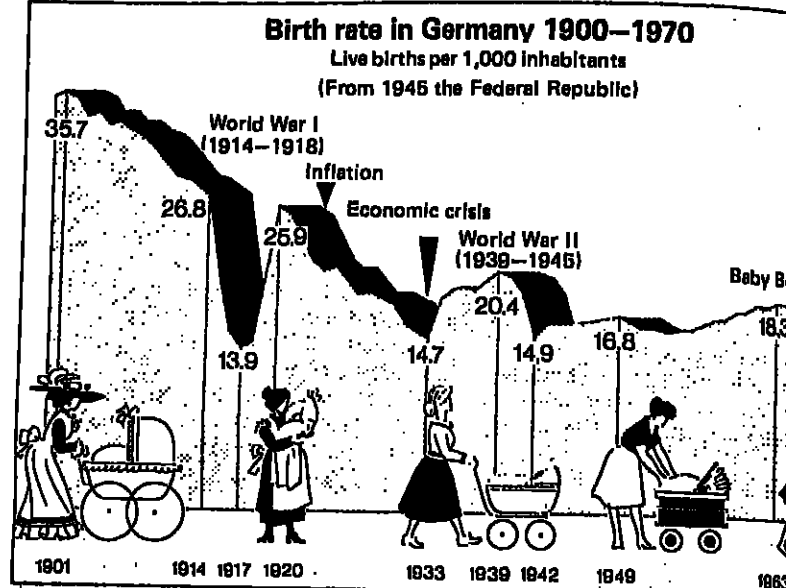
Most of the members of the "Pill Commission" hoped at first that the decline in the birth rate can be overcome by engaging more foreign workers.

But giving the matter closer thought, Ministerial Director Berle stated that in an extreme case this would lead to an unrealistic number of foreign workers.

The various forecasts conclude that the present ratio of one foreign worker to ten West German workers could rise to one to three or even one to one in the foreseeable future.

The Ministry of Labour is unwilling to make the Federal Republic's economy dependant on such a large number of foreign workers.

Experts on the social security side are happier. They are not alarmed by the possibility that a smaller and smaller



number of contributors would have to pay for more and more pensions.

Ministerial Director Horst Löwe states that their estimates show that developments up to the year 2000 can be awaited with calm.

After the large number of pensions due in the second half of the seventies is overcome, the pension insurance schemes will show increasing surpluses, enabling them to absorb increased financial burdens resulting from the decline in the birth rate.

The increased productivity expected by the year 2000 will then enable ways and means to be found for covering the increased cost of pensions insurance, Horst Löwe said.

Critics consider this to be an optimistic belief in progress. They point out that the increased productivity expected could take longer than anticipated in view of the necessary educational reforms and the consequent bottlenecks on the labour market.

Their main argument is that the contributions surplus could be affected or even fully absorbed by an increase in pensions, the proposed introduction of a flexible retiring age or by payments to maintain non-working women.

Planners in Bonn are working with a number of unknown quantities. The more or less fixed estimates have been shattered by the Pill. An official at the Ministry of Health stated: "We are faced by the question of how much fear we need have of the Pill."

Carl-Christian Kaiser
(Die Zeit, 11 June 1971)

Metalworkers discuss accident prevention at Kassel congress

criticised the fact that safety regulations were only tightened up when industrial accidents had shown that too much attention had gone into economic aspects and not enough into accident prevention when planning and constructing a machine.

The law, he said, was based on the "technically normal" condition of a machine though this unfortunately could only be ascertained after a variety of accidents had occurred.

It was highly unsatisfactory, he added, that workers always had to act as guinea-pigs when new machinery was put into service. The trade unions therefore demanded that machinery should take more account of the men who are to use it.

The Metalworkers Union believes that safety and accident prevention still do not loom very large in the minds of some employers.

It therefore made the demand that firms with a low accident rate and high expenditure on accident prevention should not have to pay such a high insurance premium. The money could be

made up by demanding more insurance from firms who do little toward accident prevention.

But there was more than just criticism of the law and a number of employers at the Kassel congress. There was also self-criticism.

It was stated for instance that workers still did not see safety and accident prevention as a serious enough issue. There were still too many workers who ignored safety regulations and did not wear their protective helmets or glasses demanded.

One admirable proposal was to scrap the fixed danger money and instead to grant a bonus to those workers who abided by the prescribed safety regulations.

Works councils must in future help in determining the cause of an accident. Paragraph 58 of the law governing industrial relations prescribes that no investigation into an accident should take place without the works council.

The trade unions do not see why accident statistics are treated as if they were industrial secrets - partly on account of advertising and the feared doubts of consumers about a slogan's power of conviction.

The Metalworkers Union safety congress therefore demanded that every factory should publish its accident statistics.

(Hundelblatt, 11 June 1971)

New women's pension scheme proposed

Gerd Muhr, deputy chairman of the Trade Union Confederation, is pushing a new pension scheme for women.

Only then, he said, could it be appropriate to women's changed position in society be found. Muhr also has been prompted by new media expected to put in an appearance during the next ten years (the film cassette for marriage would normally entail a pension).

2. On marriage both partners are treated as a unit. The pension acquired during marriage should be shared equally to both partners and on separate accounts.

3. While children are being brought up (until the age of six) a parent's pension should not be reduced. This period must be treated as if the parent were engaged in an occupation demanding insurance contributions. The government will pay these contributions when a family's tax burden is rendered for the contribution of society would thus be reduced.

4. During periods in which a woman is unemployed and is not receiving a pension, she should be able to draw on a certain age, the other must pay an additional contribution. This would probably be based on an average total income of 150 per cent of working partner's salary.

Muhr admitted that the treatment of women who had no children to take care of did not go to work would give a lot of discussion.

The unions believed that it would pay the price of greater social security in the long run the eighteen per cent contributions percentage was not a permanent fixture, he said.

(Die Welt, 14 June 1971)

One in seven women contented with her job

Sixty-eight per cent of all working women in the Federal Republic are satisfied with their job, 32 per cent would prefer to be housewife.

This was the finding of a survey conducted by the Federal Republic.

Of the married women who work 47 per cent would prefer to be housewife while 53 per cent find it a job.

The survey asked both working and housewives the question: "If you had a choice, would you prefer to be a housewife or have a job?"

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 June 1971)

Viewer discontent increases - but are the television companies totally to blame?

People are growing discontented about television and they are not just grumbling for the sake of grumbling. One of the growing criticism of television is the number of viewer associations set up in recent months.

But their discontent is also expressed in letters or telephone calls. What is behind the trend and how important is it?

Television has passed the stage of infancy. Now, at the beginning of the 1970s, it is standing at a cross-roads, as its position, organisation and role in society show.

These discussions are taking place within the broadcasting companies themselves, among the politically-interested public and among viewers.

On the one hand the discussions have been part of a general unrest among social institutions and groups in our society. They are based in those changed social conditions which are summed up by the popular term "pluralistic society".

On the other hand the discussions have been prompted by new media expected to put in an appearance during the next ten years (the film cassette for marriage would normally entail a pension).

1. Training and work before marriage would normally entail a pension. 2. On marriage both partners are treated as a unit. The pension acquired during marriage should be shared equally to both partners and on separate accounts.

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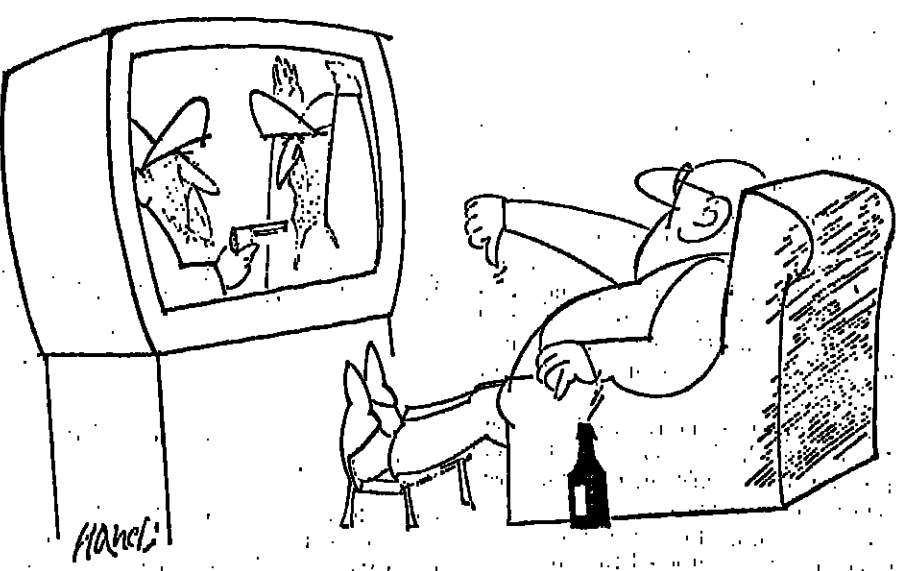
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(Die Welt, 14 June 1971)



ers and listeners from all over France a chance to speak with ORTF officials.

Twice a month soirées are held in two towns and listeners and viewers are able to express their opinions and complaints.

A regional committee, consisting mainly of journalists, then choose about ten of the candidates and the views they express are sent on to Paris for examination.

After a complicated selection procedure six to eight viewers and listeners are allowed to air their grievances over the air with ORTF representatives.

It would be good to find out what experiences ORTF has had with the programme. Experiments like this could help place the relationship between viewer and medium on a more rational footing. That is one shortcoming of the television companies at present.

Finally, a question to the viewer, though not one that is meant to cover up the failings of television: Is the discontent felt by the viewer at television also discontent at his own television habits? Should the viewer lay his discontent on his own doorstep and not on that of the television companies?

When questioning television today, there must also be a critical examination of viewing habits and special attention must be paid to the amount of time spent watching television and the type of programme viewed.

A basic pre-condition of viewer emancipation is selective and conscious use of the medium. It is therefore to be hoped that by the eighties there will be a "new" television service and a "new" type of viewer to go with it.

Dieter Stollte
(Publik, 11 June 1971)

An examination of this country's press freedoms

of the press, fought for at great personal risk by the apostles of enlightenment, is no more than the personal privilege of a few rich people.

The press is, therefore, in a similar position as it was at the beginning. Up to the mid-nineteenth century publishers had to buy their privileges from the princes. And only the richest, such as Cotta, could afford it.

That is the reason why the author expresses his basic objections towards the system of free enterprise and competition within the press of today as the interest in a democratic process of communication.

Dieter Stämmli: *The Press as a Social and Constitutional Institution. A Study of Press Freedom in Basic Law, Schrift zum Öffentlichem Recht, volume 148. Published by Duncker and Humblot, Verlag Berlin 1970, 272 pages, 68.80 Marks.*

tion through the medium of the press should also decree the staff of newspapers the right to print what they want.

It is only this internal freedom of the press that would help the press fulfil its public duty to provide objective, truthful and complete information.

But it could clash with the private and commercial interests of the publisher - if only because of his consideration of what his advertisement would think.

Karlheinz Fuchs
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 June 1971)

Film library congress in Wiesbaden

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

The 27th Annual Congress of the Fédération Internationale des Archives de Films (FIAF) re-elected Professor Jerzy Toeplitz of Warsaw as president for a further twelve months.

During the course of their five-day congress in Wiesbaden, the 56 delegates representing 34 film libraries in 26 countries also passed a number of resolutions on the organisation of an international film archive library.

Professor Toeplitz announced at a press conference that the Danish Film Museum based in Copenhagen would work together with twenty other film archives in drawing up an index from 57 film journals. An American publishing concern would then publish the articles in book form.

The congress also decided to issue a second handbook to help new film archives in building up a documentary collection. The advice to be contained in the book will go right into the technical details. The first handbook deals with the preservation of films.

It was also announced that a handbook was in preparation for the next congress to be held in Bucharest at the end of May 1972. The book, dealing with colour films, is being drawn up by the East Berlin film library.

Ulrich Pöschke, a member of the executive of this country's Institut für Filmkunde, announced that there had been no real progress in talks with the education ministers about setting up a film archives for the Federal Republic.

The Education Ministers' Conference had so far only approved in principle the establishment of a West German film library be added.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 June 1971)

■ THINGS SEEN

Six Rhine-Ruhr towns co-operate to produce *Urbs 71*

Wuppertal has staged *Urbs 71*, a 700,000 Mark festival with the aim of presenting progressive art in a concentrated form for one whole week. The festival was a "cultural initiative" by the neighbouring towns of Bochum, Cologne, Dortmund, Krefeld, Oberhausen and Wuppertal.

Urbs 71 was not designed to be just a six-city cultural show. Visitors were urged to join in and take part, doing as the artists do, thinking as the artists think.

The event was opened with pop music from a tape recorder and a pump providing draught beer. But for anyone who tends to think in present-day artistic clichés this event could not have been a tremendous attraction.

Wuppertal's employers came out in protest against *Urbs 71* even before it had opened, because in their opinion it contained decidedly anti-management traits and a number of events on the theme of "labour and society" came out with militant slogans aimed at apprentices, women workers and foreign workers.

Several local politicians have taken the same line, fearing that the reputation of the town will be damaged because, for instance, filmed contributions to *Urbs 71* from Oberhausen contain a strong leftist element.

The films commissioned by the Deutsche Akademie für Film und Fernsehen (German film and television academy) *Die Frau am Arbeitsplatz* (Women at work), *Die Lehrlinge* (The apprentices),

Erziehung (Education), *Mieten und Wohnen* (Rents and accommodation), were, according to the guiding light of *Urbs*, the Wuppertal artistic adviser Dr Klaus Revermann, "guilty of betraying a very coloured point of view".

The point of view was Marxist-Leninist and therefore the films "badly need to be accompanied by open discussion".

Polit-pop-music, cabarets, open theatre and the test of new big city songs were also grounds for starting discussions. *Floß de Cologne* and *Die Machtwörter* have not been slow in coming forth with agitation.

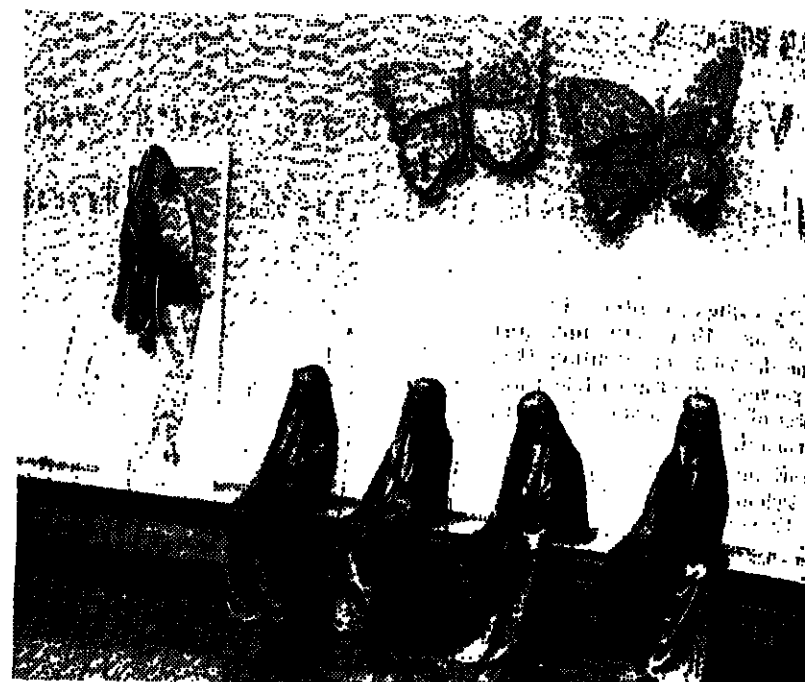
Also from Cologne is a working group of students who have set up an adventure playground for children, on which new games will be invented.

Creations from the recent and not-so-recent past were retrieved from the River Wupper in an angling competition. Taking rusted bicycles and superannuated gamps as examples, an exchange of ideas on the theme of pollution of the environment followed this angling competition.

Nor was there a lack of initiatives for bringing art and the world of the artist to the people. The programmes listed two hundred events including play premieres put on by companies from the various participant towns as well as ballets and concerts.

If you want to know what *Urbs 71* set out to avoid being you can read it up in a special "Urbs Express" published for this culture festival. It wanted to be neither an "artistic place of violence à la street-art in Hannover" nor an "art-market à la Cologne" nor an "in event à la experimenta", nor even a "Woodstock", nor an Oberhausen-festival.

According to the organisers *Urbs* was



Eva Appl's *Four Widows* and Mario Carole's *Butterflies* shown at *Urbs 71* in Wuppertal.

meant to be an attempt by six towns to overcome parochial ideas and local patriotic rivalries and to demonstrate the artistic potential of the Rhine/Ruhr area in all its widely differing aspects.

If this experiment is successful it will be repeated every other year in alternating towns. In fact the six originators hope that other towns will join in.

Cooperation is the key word for the initiators. This cooperation is designed to enable the city fathers of Bochum, Cologne, Dortmund, Krefeld, Oberhausen and Wuppertal to undertake reappraisals when working out their budgeting for the arts.

And the organisers of *Urbs 71* have other aims in mind on the artistic policies horizon. For instance they want to cut down the number of opera houses in the country. Their argument is that there are eight opera houses in the Dortmund-Krefeld-Cologne area, each no more than thirty kilometres from the next.

This is not an optimum state of affairs. With a cooperative move costs could be spared and quantity would give quality. The money thus saved could be spent on productive cultural ventures such as libraries.

Time will tell whether this cultural event will really succeed in art to the masses.

While the contribution of the Austrian Peter Turrini, *Rosenkranz und Geliebte* (Rosenkranz and his lover), met with enthusiasm in predominantly young audiences, German premiere the overall result *Urbs 71* was variable.

Dr Klaus Revermann, Wuppertal artistic adviser, was optimistic about the event. He said: "We will carry on as vigorously as possible. If we see that we are hitting home and people are saying 'load of bull' there will be no more of it." (Die Zeit, 1 July 1971)

there are Tugren, an Ottoman deed of gift.

In addition there has been an attempt in Dahlem to correct the common idea that the Islamic religion does not permit portraiture. This only applied to monomers and was by no means always heeded in royal and religious art.

Interesting examples of this include a miniature from a Persian history of the Universe, which portrays the Prophet himself together with his son-in-law removing heathen sculptures from the Kaaba.

The old museum of Islamic art was opened in Berlin in 1904 and was the most important of its kind outside the Islamic world. The War caused losses and the collection of invaluable carpets and the collection was split up. The carpets belonged to the Prussian Art Collections, but after the division of the Reich this collection lost its foremost position.

But now the new museum has some wonderful specimens on the shelves. It has worked its way up to third position in the non-Islamic world behind the Metropolitan Museum and the British Museum.

Eighteen museum curators from Arab world from as far apart as Baghdad and Pakistan were invited to the opening of the new Dahlem Museum, which was also attended by the Minister of the Interior, Hans Genscher.

The artistic work that the official museum curators have been following the developments of policies towards the arts in the GDR attentively, and Pakistan were invited to the opening of the new Dahlem Museum, which was also attended by the Minister of the Interior, Hans Genscher.

Continued on page 7

The interior of the museum for Islamic art in West Berlin. (Photo: Reinhold)

MODERN WRITING

Comparative study of literature and theatre in West and East



Two German States — two German literatures? This question was discussed at a meeting called by the Protestant Academy of Kurhessen-Waldeck in Hof.

In front of a mainly young audience, the publicist Manfred Jäger answered the question in the affirmative in his lecture on the opportunities and limitations of socially-critical literature in the two parts of Germany.

Of course it is not really possible to measure the actual changes in society achieved through the medium of literature. But the possibility remains to plumb the self-awareness of authors and their points of view on the function of literature. An analysis of this kind shows a clearly marked discrepancy between authors east and west of the demarcation line.

In West German literary circles complaints about the inconsequential nature of literature have lately become a central theme. The old idealistic thesis that the mind is in the long run stronger than physical power has been shown the door.

Middle-class writers in the Federal Republic have largely knuckled under to a hangover and have in part once again declared literature dead. An insight into this was given by Amfrid Astel in his epigram:

"Ich schreibe. Aber der, Gegen den ich schreibe, Kann nicht lesen." (I write, but the person I am writing against cannot read.)

Writers in the German Democratic Republic, on the other hand, have the choice of making their writings toe the State, Party and society lines or taking up a stand against official art policies in which they would be attacked and still consider themselves to be taken seriously.

At any rate authors in the German Democratic Republic can count on their works getting a response. Their shots never miss the target completely. Nevertheless in the GDR, too, changes to social conditions are not prompted by literature. Aspects of a social order which do not seem certain to have the total approval of the authorities simply confirm by their repressive nature the power that is entrusted to the intellectuals.

But this is far more a proof of the objective weakness of the powers-that-be than of the real power of literature.

In Hofheim Manfred Jäger summed up by saying that intellectuals only had a slight influence. They could not create the conditions required for changes. And yet, he claimed, they should sniff out these requirements, express them and make them generally known. Their job was to carry out a Utopian advance movement in the direction of change and to express specific criticism of the here-and-now.

Heinz Klunker, who like Jäger has been following the developments of policies towards the arts in the GDR attentively, and Pakistan were invited to the opening of the new Dahlem Museum, which was also attended by the Minister of the Interior, Hans Genscher.

By socialist drama Klunker did not mean plays that toed the party line unquestioningly and which are put on across the wall at great expense and with little response from the theatre-going public.

He was far more concerned with plays written by those socialists who were not afraid to draw a veil across the problems of socialist society but who wanted to discuss such problems. These plays are

rarely put on in the German Democratic Republic and only appear in print since the Party and the State fight shy of public discussions of problems of this kind.

Examples of such "drama on the declivity" are Peter Hacks' *Moritz Tassow*, Heiner Müller's *Der Bau* and Volker Braun's *Ballade vom Kipper Paul Bausch*. The methods of arguing with these in the GDR are exemplary and are carried out above all by drama experts and critics. The main debate is on the tensions created by the demands of Utopian socialism and the fact of restricted reality.

Then Manfred Jäger analysed the role of humour and satire in GDR political cabaret, taking as his example theoretical texts and passages from the scripts of the Distel in East Berlin and the Pfeffermühle in Leipzig.

Since the formation of the first political cabaret in the GDR in 1953 the amount of freedom allowed these stages has grown. What has remained is the tension between the officially desirable didactic aims and the clamour of the audience to be entertained. What has also remained is the problem of differentiating between "false" and "correct" laughter, that is to say between satire with a stabilising effect which only attacks individual abuses and that satire which might undermine the whole system or the leading lights of the system at the time.

Cabaret satirists in the GDR, who consider themselves socialists, justify their existence as the bad conscience of a good system. The brighter bureaucrats in the GDR recognised long since that satire and particularly harmless apolitical satire can bolster the system.

Other bureaucrats and control commissions responsible for approving cabaret programmes are still highly distrustful of the privileged classes of the cabaret who are paid to utter in public things that might have a detrimental effect on the way of thinking of other citizens.

Erhard Kautmann (Der Tagespiegel, 3 June 1971)

Mainz art fare!

Mainz is organising an art exhibition in a tram! Passengers boarding a route 11 tramcar will be able to view ten pictures by the Mainz art student Reiner Zimmermann, who received the 1971 Mainz art-promotion prize worth 3,000 Marks.

According to a spokesman for the city council the idea for this unusual "gallery" came from the city's deputy press officer, Eberhard Güth.

His idea was to make art accessible to people who would never dream of going into an art gallery.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 16 June 1971)

Continued from page 6

this museum have carried out should be of political as well as cultural value in the light of the rather strained relations between the Federal Republic and several Arab countries.

The President of the Prussian Artistic Possessions Foundation, Herr Wörmitt, pointed out at a preview that there would not be so much money available for the museum as hoped because fifty per cent of its budget is being provided by the Bonn government which is making economies.



Claus von Dohnanyi (left), State Secretary at the Ministry of Education, Dieter Lattmann, chairman of the Writers' Association and artist HAP Grieshaber, discussing the problems of the artist in contemporary society at Frankfurt's Paulskirche.

(Photo: dpa)

Artists plan to form a union and join the DGB

The four hundred creative artists who met recently in Frankfurt for their first working rendezvous have negotiated the most difficult hurdle on the way towards setting up a union-style organisation at the first attempt.

There was more than a two-thirds majority vote in favour of joining a union, but it has not yet been finally decided whether the approximately ten thousand organised painters, sculptors and graphic artists in the Federal Republic and the unknown number of outstanding freelance artists will join the already existing unions, the artists' union or the printing and paper union or whether they will possibly set up a seventeenth pillar in the Confederation of Federal Republic Trades Unions structure in the form of an IG Kultur (culture union).

But it was decided in Frankfurt that when the final decision is made it will be taken in conjunction with the "pacemaker" in this sector, the Authors' Federation (VS).

The literati had decided at their previous congress in Stuttgart in favour of a scheme put forward by Martin Wolsor that they should join forces with the Confederation of Federal Republic Trades Unions (DGB).

Creative artists, hot on the heels of their union-loving colleagues in belles lettres, plan at the outset to reorganise their loose "Confederation of Federal state professional associations of creative artists" into an active association of members.

By the autumn of this year at the meeting of the umbrella group in Kaub on the Rhine corresponding steps will have been taken.

Apart from the ticklish problem of union business the artists who met in Frankfurt and who were little experienced in holding congresses of this kind had to deal with a veritable mountain of material. This was tackled at the outset

by a concerted attack in four working groups, and long-winded plenary talks finally got to grips with it.

From the point of view of the social services the participants in the congress decided on a welfare fund for old and sick artists. The organisers of the meeting had hoped that there would be a quorum of one thousand artists, but this figure was not reached and there were not so many prominent artists in their ranks as had been hoped, either.

These artists, who are to a certain extent fighting for their existence, would like to see a share of those tax monies flowing into this social welfare fund which come from the almost unfathomable art market by way of sales, re-sales and reproductions.

In addition to this the artists meeting in St. Paul's Church and the Gewerkschaftshaus in Frankfurt called on various organisations to raise their logical share to a minimum of five per cent, as well as demanding that State building schemes and subsidised accommodation should provide them with more studios and workshops than in the past.

Another demand made by the artists was that they should be exempted from turnover tax. And finally they stated that the taxman should accept the special professional conditions of freelance creative artists and take account of these when levying taxes.

In the far-reaching catalogue of demands made by the creative artists and ratified for publication by them at the end of the three-day conference there is further talk of "democratisation at all levels of policy-making with regard to the arts".

In more specific terms what the artists are demanding is total autonomy in administering their artistic production and their instruments of mediation.

In the end the private art market would lose its sole rights by means of cooperative linkups and the setting up of production workshops and distribution channels.

Participation in all spheres of national education and a reappraisal of the professional image of the artist can, the Frankfurt congress hopes, get rid of the "underprivileged position in society that the artist holds".

After three days the participants at the conference on the Rhine had become quite agile in their rhetoric. They concluded that when their aims as expressed in Frankfurt have been achieved they can carry out their duty to art and to society in the proper manner.

Albert Bechtold (Kleiner Nachrichten, 8 June 1971)

Liselotte Müller (Hannoversche Allgemeine, 10 June 1971)

■ EDUCATION

Homework help scheme slowly catches on

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, State Secretary in the Education and Science Ministry, recently held a press conference in which she spoke of the success of a "Homework Help for Foreign Children" campaign begun last autumn as part of International Education Year.

She also introduced a new pamphlet entitled "Guidelines for Tomorrow's Homework Helpers".

A survey conducted among 24,000 elementary schools at the end of last year was meant to show the extent of the response to the call for help for the children of foreign workers and the degree to which the campaign had reached public attention.

Only three thousand of the schools replied. These schools taught 33,000 foreign children, about a third of all foreign children being taught in West German schools.

Fifty-two per cent of the schools replying claimed to have heard of the campaign but only one school in four had actively supported it with placards and pamphlets calling for homework help.

Information about various types of homework help was supplied by 940 schools. At the time of the survey some 3,700 foreign children were being helped in this way with their school work.

Six months previously - before the start of the campaign - the number of foreign children being helped stood at 1,400, so it can be assumed that during the course of the campaign the number of children receiving help almost tripled.

Parents of West German schoolchildren head the list of helpers, taking care of a third of the foreign children. They are followed by the schoolchildren themselves and students who help a quarter of the children.

The schools' information on the introductory classes preparing foreign children for German classes was also

analysed. It was found that only 220 of the three thousand schools replying had introductory classes for their Italian, Spanish or Yugoslav children.

At the other schools the foreign children had to attend German classes where they found it even more difficult to keep up with their lessons. Of the 33,000 foreign schoolchildren covered by the survey only 32 per cent were attending introductory classes.

All these results show that one campaign alone will not be enough to create better conditions for the children of foreign workers in this country. But even within the framework of the International Education Year nothing more than a stimulus could have been expected.

If help - including financial aid - does not come from the ministries, education authorities and school directorates, the start made to improve the educational position of several thousand foreign children will soon be bogged down.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 June 1971)

Bonn financially aids thirty student organisations

The government believes it is still necessary to allocate student associations money from public sources. At present a total of thirty associations are being government financed.

This was the reply given by the government to a motion by the Christian Socialists dealing mainly with the financial backing given to the Social Democratic University Association (SHB), the Liberal Student Association (LSD) and the VDS students union.

This year the SHB is to receive about 96,000 Marks. The VDS will not be financed as the government does not believe that its aims are worthy of

government support. The LSD has not applied for funds for 1971.

In its motion the Opposition doubted whether the SHB, LSD and VDS offered the guarantee of work conforming to the aims of Basic Law.

The government announced that about 1.19 million Marks had been set aside in the 1971 Budget for student organisations.

(Die Welt, 2 June 1971)

Education must be priority, Vetter DGB demands

General education and career should be placed on the footing of a social problem - it must be seen as a trinity of personality, education and science, Hans-Oskar Vetter, Chairman of the Trades Union Congress, told the Federal Congress of Education and Science Union in Kiel.

He added that an appropriate of the gross social product devoted to the educational and respective of economic priorities.

Vetter criticises the fact that the initial period of drug-taking the drug takes depends on the question of supply.

These were the basic points in a report on "Drug Abuse and Addiction in Switzerland" by the Swiss psychiatrist Professor Kielholz of Basle. He was speaking at a medical congress in Berlin.

Switzerland was affected by the present drug wave before the Federal Republic had more experience with the problems of drug addiction thanks to the important work of the Basle psychiatric school and the small area of the country.

Speaking of a person's susceptibility to drug-taking, Professor Kielholz pointed out that the personality structure of young people was always practically the same.

The Board for Career Training, financed by top industrial organisations and psychological steps in the sphere of overcoming social difficulties.

The Board added that private must be given the same financial facilities as public bodies. Refer comprehensive schooling, he noted that experiences at home and must first be awaited and then examined before any further steps taken.

(Handelsblatt, 1 June 1971)

HEALTH
Drug wave in Europe shows no sign of ceasing

A great majority of young addicts are oversensitive, reserved and usually spoilt. Up to sixty per cent are extremely moody, inhibited, insecure or feel inadequate in some way.

They have no aims in life. There is a wide gap between ability and desire. The lack of a fixed way of life and a need to work leads to tensions that the young try to escape.

The reason why people take drugs has nothing to do with the desire for bliss or euphoria but it is the desire for an end to their emotional tension.

The tragic thing about it is, Professor Kielholz stated, the fact that the way to supposed freedom always ended in complete dependence on the drug.

Fortunately, he said, some eighty per cent of all young people give up drugs after taking them only once because of unpleasant side-effects such as dizziness, biliousness or vomiting. Only if a person gets high will he continue to take drugs.

There are four stages to the escalation of drug-taking. During the first stage a variety of drugs is tried. Eighty per cent of drug consumption in the second stage is hashish.

In the third stage hashish is mixed with LSD or amphetamines. In the fourth stage the amphetamine dose is quickly increased. The period elapsing between injections becomes shorter and serious side-effects occur.

Serum hepatitis is common along with thrombophlebitis. The first complaint is a liver inflammation caused by dirty syringe needles while the latter is an inflammation of the walls of a vein resulting in constricted vessels.

Students prone to suicide

Between nineteen and twenty out of every hundred thousand people in the country commit suicide. The suicide rate for students is ten times higher.

Jagu, the Mainz university paper, notes that suicide is the second most frequent cause of death among Mainz students after traffic accidents.

Dr Strecker, the student doctor, reckons half his patients are psychically sick and that one in ten of them are badly in need of treatment.

According to estimates made by Dr Bonn, the university psychologist, five to ten per cent of students need psychiatric treatment.

At the moment three bodies try to help students who have run into psychic trouble. They are now to be combined and the resulting centre for students will, it is hoped, be able to provide specific psychiatric care as soon as the first suicide symptoms make their appearance.

The number of students who visit the centre for advice and assistance increases monthly.

(Welt am Sonntag, 23 May 1971)

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Travel-sickness pills can be a danger to motorists

Dr Heinz Eberhard Bose of the Lower Saxony Medical Association pointed out in Hanover that the holiday medicine chest carried by many motorists could be a real source of danger.

Dr Bose stated that there is no doubt within the Medical Association that drugs and preparations against travel sickness reduce a driver's reactions considerably.

Drivers should therefore not take any pills against sea-sickness if they plan to continue driving after the ferry has docked.

Bose emphasised that many pill manufacturers would try to eliminate this dangerous effect by adding quantities of caffeine. But they rarely managed to synchronise the effective periods of the two ingredients. The substance guarding against travel sickness often did not begin to work until the effects of the caffeine had worn off.

That was why several airlines had forbidden their pilots to take tablets of this type, Dr Bose added. But drivers suffering from hay fever must also take care.

Medical experience had shown that anti-histamine treatment of this complaint considerably limited a person's ability to drive. Even medicaments meant specifically for drivers increased the risk of an accident if taken before the journey.

The Medical Association also warned against "camouflaged sleeping pills" - so-called tranquilizers containing, however, barbitol or phenobarbital.

These two substances are genuine soporifics. Uncontrolled consumption of these "camouflaged sleeping pills" could lead in many cases to an unrecognised state of chronic poisoning.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 5 June 1971)

Berlin congress discusses abuse of tranquilizers

The casual use of tranquilizers is often dangerous as it conceals states of unrest due to serious organic complaints and prevents their diagnosis.

Old people in particular often suffer from states of unrest which must be treated correctly. Tranquilizers can easily lead to unwanted effects here.

Doctors at the congress also expressed their doubts about combinations of tranquilizers and other hormones - a practice that was becoming increasingly common.

Professor H. Kewitz of Berlin, the chairman of the discussion, stated that the frequent use of tranquilizers was due to the fact that rest, calm and a good night's sleep were essential conditions for the normal functioning of nerves and hormones in the organism.

Treating states of unrest and fear is considered necessary as otherwise they could affect the whole of the organism.

Treating minor mental complaints or insomnia used to be comparatively simple, if not always very effective, as the only available cure apart from valerian and bromide salts was the classical sleeping potion, barbiturates.

As a small quantity of this drug reduces the increased sensitivity of the central nervous system to a normal level, it is also used by day as a sedative.

Now tranquilizers are available as well. They also calm the central nervous system, though without leading to general tiredness or unconsciousness.

Neuroleptics such as megaphon lessen mental tension without influencing a person's state of consciousness. Calming a person in this way helps him to sleep.

Despite intensive research there is not always a lot that can be said of how and where these drugs are effective. Only practical experience can help in determining what drug is to be used and when.

Barbiturates should only be used for a short period to help a patient get over difficulties in sleeping. Lasting treatment leads to addiction to sleeping tablets.

Tranquilizers, the drugs that affect the vegetative nervous system, are not as harmless as is thought. They influence a person's mood and sleeping habits and lead to dependence.

They are dangerous when combined with alcohol and can lead to delirium. This effect of tranquilizers is deliberately exploited by experienced patients to cut down on alcohol and avoid liver damage caused by excessive alcohol consumption.

As neuroleptics do not lead to addiction they can be used in smaller doses as a tranquilliser although their effect, and side-effects, are much more far-reaching. Because of these side-effects, neuroleptics are less suited for the treatment of extreme vegetative disorders.

The discussion showed that although the various drugs often had beneficial effects on a patient inner conflicts could only be overcome by them to a limited extent.

The discussion also showed that a doctor will only be able to use the variety of the drugs at his disposal sensibly if he is adequately informed of the opportunities and limits of courses of treatment involving tranquilizers.

But criticism heard during the discussion seems to suggest that this is lacking as much as the insight of patients.

Rainer Flöhl
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 June 1971)

Frankfurter Allgemeine
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■ THE ECONOMY

Demands for a larger share of the cake cause economic troubles

Something is wrong with our economy. This is a fact that everyone notices as he goes about his daily business, in the big things and the small, in higher prices and lesser efficiency, in the indifference of people at work and the wool that people are constantly trying to pull over our eyes.

There is always an easy way out and that is the way that is being taken. The motto is *more for less*. This way of thinking prevailed once before and it only missed plunging this country into a crisis by a hair's-breadth.

This time we are not merely dealing with silver-lined clouds of economic overactivity, situations vacant by the thousand and monstrous export surpluses.

Nor is the problem solely to do with doubts that are being expressed about the sense of material aims. These doubts can be dispelled easily enough, but then there arises the problem of the flagging gross national product.

The crux of the matter is a harsh, bitter fight affecting not only the Federal Republic, but also other industrial countries about the way the gross national product is divided up.

It is scarcely possible to affect this struggle with industrial economic policies any longer let alone resolve it.

It will have to be borne on the backs of others. Not those of the working population who belong to the minority that is union organized. Nor those on the managerial side who belong to the minority of

Süddeutsche Zeitung

not lead the mass of wage earners to greater prosperity, but rather to misery.

If this development were allowed to continue the whole inflationary process would speed up, and, what is more, progressively, so that in the near future five to ten per cent increases in costs and earnings would be considered stability, and in the distant future a few superfluous noughts would have to be chopped off. What would we have gained from this? And more important, who would have gained?

The question remains, would all industrial economic policy weapons continue to be ineffective if the Bonn government and the Bundesbank, who are responsible for the value of money, lost all their power to both sides of industry, employers by virtue of overflowing order books, employees by virtue of the fact that the labour market was exhausted?

This is how it looks at present. Keynes, on whose theories we have stocked up our economic armoury with such vital weapons as the economic stabilisation legislation, seems doomed to failure.

The Bundesbank's efforts to cut down the amount of cash in circulation with a credit squeeze gets nowhere, because the exchange rates of currencies are firmly fixed but their values are freely convertible; and what is more all money and capital markets have been liberalised. This is the plight of the Bank of Issue.

And this is the plight of the Finance Minister: the anti-cyclical finance policy cannot function if the structure of public expenditure has been fixed by legal ties to most outgoing monies on the one hand, and reforms and the desire to reform on the other hand.

Keynes knew nothing of this. We know all about it. Are we drawing the consequences from it?

Until yesterday we were not. But since inflation is a fraud against the people and puts money in the pockets of a minority we will not be able to accept that we are powerless to do anything about it.

Those who will not accept this must make both sides of industry realise that they cannot demand everything and grab everything. We should not rely on insight alone. Employers are, after all, thinking of business, the trade unions, which are financed by members' contributions, are thinking only of wages.

When there is a superboom with practically no competitiveness and over-employment, with only 0.7 per cent of the working population unemployed and two million foreign workers in the country this way of thinking will not change.

Franz Josef Strauss is not so far wrong when he says that wages and prices can only be stabilised by a policy that takes us right to the edge of recession — but we must not plunge right into recession.

But even in the 1967 recession when the unemployment figure was three per cent we did not suffer from true unemployment; in fact by international standards that was still full employment.

But economic policies should not be made using unemployment as their tool — this would be despicable. On the other hand nobody should believe that over-employment and stability are, nor can be made, compatible.

There must be a middle-of-the-road course and this applies too to the question of more economic finance policies in the public sector. Public spending cannot just be stopped suddenly. But excessive expenditure must be avoided and the essential cutting back of millions for public expenditure for reforms should not mean a total renunciation of reforms.

BDI report quells fears of economic recession this year

No recession in 1971 — that is the forecast made by the Confederation of Federal Republic Industries (BDI) in a report recently published in Düsseldorf. But mistaken wages policies could lead to a slump later, the BDI warns.

Developments on the wages and salaries front could cause a downward spiral, but it is likely that these developments will gradually improve, says the BDI, and thereafter the economy should start on an expansive trend again.

The Confederation forecasts an actual growth rate of three per cent in the gross national product for the current year. But the wages-per-item costs in 1971 are expected to rise by eight per cent. This increase is too high for stability to be maintained.

Export and import quotas should both rise by eleven per cent this year, according to BDI estimates.

The BDI expressed the opinion that the concerted action committee was neither a decision-making nor a legislative body. It had "however" been a useful setup in the past, the BDI report stated, since it had brought about talks between both sides of industry. On the other hand in 1970 concerted action failed to halt the costs spiral with all its consequences.

The BDI has spoken out decisively in favour of a European Economic and Monetary Union. It rejects isolated solutions to crisis situations.

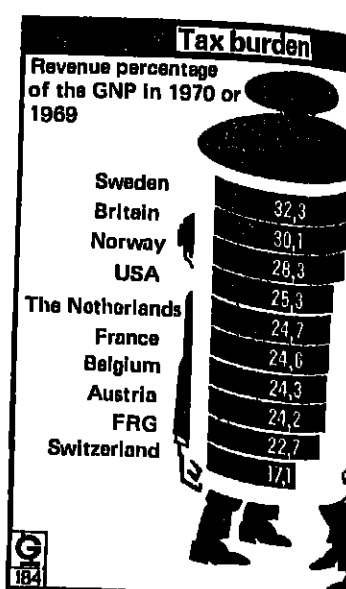
Member States of the European Economic Community must, in the opinion of BDI officials, be prepared to make the Common Market into an organisation that takes the rest of the world into consideration and not a closed shop.

Looking back over the past year the Confederation of Federal Republic Industries speaks of twelve months of good trading at home and abroad, but sharp rises in costs, cutbacks in profits and increased worries about the state of the economic cycle.

The crippling eternal triangle of rapidly rising production costs, slumping profits and considerable difficulties in financing new investments must be recognised as soon as possible and neutralised, the BDI report states. This has only been partly possible so far.

Contradictory statements particularly with regard to industrial, social-services and fiscal policies have created considerable economic uncertainty in the opinion of the Confederation of Industries.

Floating the Mark was, it says, an act



Some reforms require more energy than money. And other can just as well be postponed. Impossible to make a wage-earner stand that he has to pay extra for higher grants can be paid by graduates!

The Bonn government has for long known better than its expert. Now it is making a last desperate attempt. The last general election was an economic score, and failure to stability will mean the government's end in 1973. Alex Möller did service to Karl Schiller when he over the Finance Ministry to be Schiller had to step down the government would crash about his ears. Refusal only be carried out from a political stability.

Neither the government nor the opposition seems to carry out the dictation that seem the last resort to cool down overheated economy and which will tend to lead to a wages and prices rise.

A restoration of sanity by public hard facts about the state of the economy seems to be the best step to take our economic system. It is essential to take a hold stop and then start ground. Then we will see whether the economy of our country is all right.

From West (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 June 1971)

COMMERCE

Communist world gradually comes to terms with the Common Market

Handelsblatt

The speed at which negotiations for the extension of the European Economic Community have progressed of late has challenged the East Bloc to rethink its attitudes towards the Community.

Up until now it was a matter of pressing urgency for the European Economic Community to be recognised — even without the new members — since the East Bloc knew it would have to contend with a front of communal trading policies from 1973 onwards, for which the six members of the EEC had committed themselves.

But if the Six should expand to ten member countries there could be a decisive shift in the market for many goods supplied by Eastern European countries to Western Europe. This would without question open up a broad field for negotiations.

For the time being the East Bloc is not decided about the attitude it should adopt towards the European Economic Community. EEC President Franco Malfatti advised the member countries in his policy speech in February this year that they should adhere to each other as far as possible so that they should not be swayed by occasional inconsequential impulses to take any prejudiced view of the future community trading policy with regard to the East Bloc.

At the moment EEC officials are looking at the question of trade with the East Bloc very pragmatically. At Berlaymont, the European Economic Community headquarters in Brussels, there is an almost constant daily stream of VIPs from East Bloc States.

The only exceptions to this rule are the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. As a general rule foreign trade experts of the Common Market are not expecting to obtain solemn recognition by the East, but, as one senior official expressed it, "working conditions".

In any case the Community and its organisations will have to be accepted as partners across the negotiating table when it comes to signing treaties and trade agreements.

Brussels observers realised long ago that the Soviet view of the European Economic Community is no longer as a threatening instrument of Nato aggression. And it has been well known for some time that the viability of the Common Market has been realised and accepted.

Nor does Moscow still consider the Six as a stumbling factor in East-West trade negotiations since trade with the EEC is expanding faster for the East Bloc than is trade with other countries.

Step by step therefore the East Bloc States are coming to terms with the European Economic Community. They have become accustomed to seeing EEC officials at meetings of international organisations such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the UN Economic Commission for Europe. They signed joint documents with them.

Agricultural agreements, sixteen in all, have been reached between the Community and Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania.

Brussels can see no point in opening up direct contacts between the EEC and

Comecon in Moscow since the Comecon headquarters is a secretariat for coordinating a completely different kind of economic and legal setup than the European Commission.

If the individual countries of Eastern Europe have not completed trade treaties with the European Economic Community by 1973 — some of the present agreements do not run out until the beginning of 1974 — then business will have to continue without treaties.

Formal recognition is only one of the three central problems of trade between Europe have not completed trade treaties with the European Economic Community by 1973 — some of the present agreements do not run out until the beginning of 1974 — then business will have to continue without treaties.

However, central problems such as how to convert the present speedy increase in turnover, made possible by agricultural and raw material deliveries in the main, to a system of industrial supplies that ensures a secure future or how the communal East Bloc trade policies are to be presented to the European Economic Community in detail, are much more difficult to solve.

Since 1958 the countries with State monopoly trading have increased their share of the EEC's foreign trade with imports going up by 4.2 per cent to six per cent and EEC exports by 3.9 per cent to 6.9 per cent in 1970.

Forty per cent of trade between the EEC and the East Bloc involves the Federal Republic (exclusive of trade between the two parts of Germany).

Increases in turnover in trade with individual East Bloc countries fluctuate from year to year and sometimes quite markedly. In 1970 the EEC countries

imported 13.3 per cent more from the East Bloc than in the previous year, but imports from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were only five per cent up.

Exports from the Six to the East Bloc increased by eighteen per cent in all. But exports to the Soviet Union were only up by 3.5 per cent following a sharp rise the previous year. Czechoslovakia bought thirty per cent more from the EEC than in 1969 and Hungary 44 per cent more.

With the exception of Poland all East Bloc countries made a deficit in their trading with the Common Market.

These deficits immediately throw up the question of credit. This matter is being worked on by Brussels at the moment. The details of credit ceilings, duration of loans and other conditions have to be finalised and this is being carried out with uniform foreign trade in mind.

The new trade policy will have to get to grips with industrial cooperation in a big way. Officials in Brussels are dampening down the hopes of their Eastern counterparts that cooperation will of necessity mean exceptional treatment, such as for instance making reimportation of products permissible.

When Comecon trade representatives put forward claims for special treatment officials in Brussels counter with remarks such as, "Even the Ford parent company in the United States, which cooperates and co-produces with its Cologne subsidiary, does not go in for exceptional rights."

The first essential, Brussels says, is for both sides to sit down round the negotiating table.

No one in Brussels has overlooked the

fact that with the new members, associates and other countries that are tied to the European Economic Community by trade agreements (a total of sixty countries, according to Brussels) as well as with the 91 developing countries that enjoy trade preferences, the East Bloc will have a hard time and be in a weak position.

Unlike the United States, Japan or Canada the countries of the East Bloc, experience has taught us, repeatedly try to get round the EEC hurdles by virtue of their economic system, and their lack of capital and management, but have a hard time doing so.

Another special case is the trade between the European Economic Community and the German Democratic Republic. Bonn's five EEC partners accept the nature of the trade between the two parts of Germany and treat their trade with East Berlin as they would trade with any outside country.

GDR excluded

From a strictly legalistic point of view the GDR comes outside the categories of the Treaty of Rome which differentiates only between member countries and third-party countries, although in 1957 the Six added a rider to the treaty about trade between the two parts of Germany.

For as long as Bonn's EEC partners accept the Federal Republic's motives for trading with the German Democratic Republic the GDR will continue to enjoy diverse preferences. How much of the present four and a half milliard annual turnover in trade between the two Germanies comes from the financial advantages the GDR derives from the EEC is something that cannot be worked out exactly in Brussels.

All in all Brussels has got used to the shadow member of the Community.

Egbert Stehke
(Handelsblatt, 11 June 1971)

East Bloc begins to dabble on European money markets

With utmost skill the East Bloc is attempting to free itself from its economic isolation towards the West and to improve its financial power in European exchange and finance markets.

For this purpose communal organisations have been set up with Western partners, such as the recently started East-West Financing Company, *Centropa*, which operates in Poland, and now in addition the *Centrofin* Bank, both of which have headquarters in Vienna.

Centrofin was set up with a starting capital of seven million Austrian schillings. It is a joint venture of the Bank für Arbeit und Wirtschaft (Vienna) which has close ties with the Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft in Frankfurt, and the Bank Handlowy (Warsaw), the Banco di Sicilia (Palermo), the Banco Popular Español (Madrid), Kleinwort Benson Limited (London), the Banque Occidentale pour l'Industrie et le Commerce (Paris) and the Bank of Tokyo.

Each of these banks put up capital of one million schillings. *Centrofin* is designed to promote economic cooperation between the East and West and to tap the Eurodollar market for international financing.

Thus Austria is trying to polish up the image of East-West trade which has become rather tarnished of late and to develop super-national connections from the bilateral transit and clearing trade.

In 1964 the transferable rouble was introduced simultaneously with the setting up of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation in Moscow. Even in Eastern Europe these moves were of little significance.

The financial means of the International Investment Bank of Comecon which was set up on 1 January, one thousand million roubles, of which one third is in convertible currencies, are not sufficient for financing international trade.

For this reason there has been an increase in the dealings of communal

East-West banking organisations, via licences and the exchange of technical knowhow and also switched transactions (imports and exports via an intermediate country, especially exports to a dollar country by a third country which gets the dollars).

Heavy debts to the Federal Republic are one clear indication of how essential it is for the East Bloc to "pump" in this way. Taking into consideration deals that have not yet been completed the East Bloc has chalked up debts of seven milliard Marks on Bonn's slate.

As an example of this the trade attaché quoted the Fiat factories in Poland which are not sufficiently productive to satisfy demand in the West. Cooperation is the only way to strengthen existing business ties.

Felix Schneider
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 June 1971)

■ TECHNOLOGY

Powerful new short wave transmitter ready in time for Munich Olympics

Forty miles west of Munich, near Ettlingen in the Wertachtal, Europe's largest short-wave transmitter complex is under construction.

The Bundespost is installing the complex for Deutsche Welle, which at present transmits 89 short-wave programmes in 33 languages all over the world.

Deutsche Welle's existing transmitters and relay stations in Jülich, near Cologne, Kigali, Rwanda (Central Africa), and Sines, Portugal, have given stalwart service but are no longer adequate.

The two most powerful transmitters to date have been the two 250-kilowatt units at Kigali. Wertachtal is to boast twelve 500-kilowatt high frequency transmitters. They will be linked by remote control with 67 aerials.

The aerials are or will be between 35 and 125 metres (115 and 400ft) in height and so arranged as to resemble a three-armed starfish extending over two kilometres (a mile and a half) in one direction.

Directional aerials and what for the layman is a confused tangle of cables are to be erected by Brown, Boveri of Mannheim.

Power is fed to the aerials by hollow conductor cables specially developed for the purpose and the first of their kind in the world.

The cables were developed by Felten & Guillaume of Cologne and Gutehoffnungshütte cable division of Hannover, two firms that are normally fierce competitors and joined forces solely for this contract.

The two firms manufactured equal amounts of the total 53 kilometres (33 miles) of cable on identical, specially designed machines. For transport reasons the cable was delivered in 180-metre (200-yard) lengths.

Wertachtal cable is nearly 25 centimetres (ten inches) in diameter and will go down in the history of technology as the bulkiest in the world.

It consists of two concentric metal tubes joined at short intervals by tripod supports made of Teflon, the synthetic material used in non-stick frying pans.

Shorted at both ends after installation the two tubes form a complete circuit.

Nuclear power stations will generate 80 per cent of current by 2000

By 1980 thirty per cent of the electric power used in this country will be generated by nuclear power stations. By the end of the century nuclear power will probably account for eighty per cent of the current in the national grid.

Addressing the Mainz annual conference of the Association of Federal Republic Engineers Professor Walter Ludwig, chairman of the association, stated that by then nuclear fission may well have been superseded by nuclear fusion as a means of generating power.

Even assuming that the Earth's population at the turn of the century is 7,000 million and that per capita power consumption is five times what it is today in the European Common Market a single per cent of the heavy water in the seven seas would be sufficient to fuel fusion reactors for three million years.

In view of the variety of technological and scientific tasks facing mankind it was, Professor Ludwig said, a mystery to him why less and less sixth-formers were opting for other disciplines.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 16 June 1971)



The alternating current maintained at a steady frequency and the modulation that transmits the news travels in one direction along the outer surface of the copper inner tube and in the other along the inner surface of the outer tube, which consists mainly of aluminium with a two-per-cent admixture of manganese.

The two tubes also differ in the way in which they are manufactured. The aluminium tube comes in spirals, the copper in rings, the idea being to ensure that the combination is both flexible enough for laying and sufficiently rigid once in position.

The result is a saving in both tube thickness and weight. The copper inner tube roughly ten centimetres (four inches) in diameter is only six tenths of a millimetre (24/1,000ths of an inch) thick.

The aluminium outer tube, which is approximately ten inches in diameter is two and a half millimetres (1/10th of an inch) thick.

The two tubes also differ in the way in and inner conductor is maintained during use at a pressure of four atmospheres with the aid of dry compressed air and special valves.

The compressed air serves two purposes. It provides insulation between the two conductors, ensuring that no current jumps from one to the other. Also, due to the molecular density, it makes it easier to draw off excess heat.

It is a well-known fact that electrical resistance in the conductor always leads to a loss of power in the cable. This vagrant current is transformed into heat.

In the Wertachtal cable two thirds of the heat loss occurs in the inner tube and one third in the outer tube.

Assuming a maximum outside temperature of 35 degrees centigrade and maximum frequency of 26 megahertz, or twenty-six million oscillations per second, the inner tube must not reach a temperature of more than 140 degrees and the

outer tube no more than 75 degrees centigrade.

The compressed air draws off excess heat from the inner conductor and directs it towards the outer conductor, which in its turn is cooled by means of conduction, convection and radiation.

Heat is drawn off at all points where the cable is mounted on supports or fixed in some other way. Convection is used during its travels underground, which account for eleven kilometres (seven miles) of the total length. Radiation is resorted to at and above ground level, the cable being mounted on prestressed concrete supports.

Convection underground is the work of a continuous current of fresh air, approximately 25 cubic metres (32.5 cubic yards) a second per section of underground channel.

The temperature on the outer surface of the aluminium tube automatically regulates the flow of fresh air.

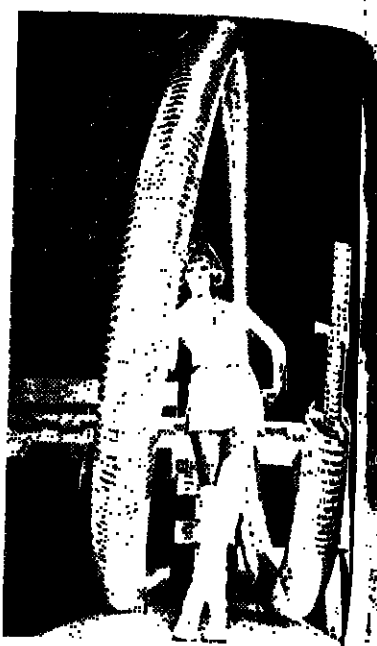
Heat loss above ground is intensified by means of an outer coating of special paint. The cable is at no point exposed to sunlight, being covered by concrete casing which also protects it from the chunks of ice that fall off the aerials in winter.

On-site joining of the 180-metre sections of cable is also an operation worthy of note! The aluminium tubes are welded together with the aid of protective gas and specially designed intermediate sections, a new process. The ends of copper tubing are soldered. The whole is completely airtight.

The forces generated while the cable is in use call for special constructional measures. Frustrated heat expansion accounts for an axial force amounting to a maximum of half a ton per cable. A further two and a half tons are caused by the compressed air between the two conductors.

In the cellar of the aerial selector building 41 cables converge on one point. The thrust, 123 tons, has to be kept in check by means of a steel structure anchored in the buildings' foundations.

The compressed air also causes powerful radial force at bends and corners in the cable. This can amount to as much as



The giant cable to be employed by Deutsche Welle's Wertachtal transmitter complex (Photo: F&G/Kale)

65 tons and can be visualised as a brother of the forces unleashed in a tangle of garden hose once the valve is turned full on.

Massive concrete blocks are in place to forestall any untoward movement of the part of the Wertachtal cable comparable situation.

The first stage of construction is ready by next summer in time to start rate transmissions from the Munich Olympics.

(Handelsblatt, 9 June 1971)

The days of the commuter motorist are numbered



Motorists who drive to and from work in urban areas every day find their days are numbered. With the grinding to a halt at peak periods of conventional methods and appeals to common sense proving of no avail, prohibitive meter charges and other measures will soon descend on commuter traffic according to a motor industry association conference in Travemünde.

A survey conducted by the Bad Godesberg Institute of Applied Social Science and submitted to the conference reveals that money spent on advertising campaigns designed to persuade commuters to use public transport has thus far been wasted.

A man who opts for public transport the survey concludes, seen by motorists as someone who is scared, inflexible and feeble. His example is given the thumbs down sign.

The man who wends his way through rush-hour traffic twice a day is held by fellow-motorists to be progressive, dynamic, masculine, courageous and young.

As transport planners have proved unable to make public transport an attractive enough proposition to forestall chaos on the roads the association still feels that the private car will remain the more attractive alternative for the next fifteen years, proposed a plan to own for city traffic.

In town and city centres priority will be given to shoppers and delivery vans. Commuters are to be kept out of adequate parking facilities provided public transport terminals out of town. Timetables and routes of public transport are to be improved accordingly.

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 11 June 1971)

Guess who's got more 747s than any other airline?



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